

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 SS-15 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04

H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 USIA-06 IO-13 CU-02 OES-07 TRSE-00 ACDA-07

/089 W

-----056884 231727Z /47

R 231101Z JUN 77

FM AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2999

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L PRAGUE 1721

BELGRADE ALSO FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, CZ PGOV

SUBJECT: CSCE IMPLEMENTATION INITIATIVES: CZECHOSLOVAKIA

REFS: A) STATE 139514 B) PRAGUE 0667 C) 76 PRAGUE 3334

D) 76 STATE 308562

1. SUMMARY: SINCE CSCE-RELATED ISSUES MAKE UP MUCH OF OUR

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DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS WITH THE GOC AND HUMAN RIGHTS IS AN AREA OF PARTICULAR STRAIN IN OUR RELATIONS, WE BELIEVE A FORMAL CSCE DEMARCHE NOW WOULD ONLY PROVIDE AN OCCASION FOR THE GOC TO BELABOR US ON OUTSTANDING BILATERAL ISSUES AND TO REPEAT FAMILIAR PROPAGANDA LINES. WITH GOC POSSIBLY THE MOST RETICENT OF THE COMMUNIST REGIMES TO MOVE OUT ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION, A DEMARCHE WOULD BE LARGELY A WASTE OF ENERGY AND PLACE USG

IN A TACTICALLY DISADVANTAGEOUS DEMANDEUR ROLE. WE CONSIDER CZECHOSLOVAK IMPLEMENTATION CAN BEST BE ENCOURAGED BY STEADY PRESSURE AT VARIOUS WORKING LEVELS (AS IN REF B). END SUMMARY.

2. AS WE HAVE REVIOUSLY STATED (REFS C AND D), CSCE-RELATED ISSUES--ESPECIALLY THE AREAS OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, STRENGTHENING HUMAN CONTACTS, STEPPING UP THE FLOW OF INFORMATION, AND GENERALLY OPENING UP GREATER OFFICIAL CONTACTS--ARE THE MAIN CONTENT OF OUR DAY-TO-DAY RELATIONS WITH THE CZECHOSLOVAK GOVERNMENT. THEY WILL CONTINUE TO BE, AT LEAST UNTIL MORE NORMAL RELATIONS ARE MADE POSSIBLE BY THE SETTLEMENT OF KEY BILATERAL ISSUES, PRIMARILY CLAIMS/GOLD. FEW WEEKS GO BY IN WHICH CSCE ISSUES ARE NOT RAISED AT ONE OR MORE LEVELS RANGING FROM THE AMBASSADOR IN CALLS ON CABINET MINISTERS TO ROUTINE COUNSULAR INQUIRIES AND DISCUSSED WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE FINAL ACT.

3. WE BELIEVE A FORMAL DEMARCHE SPECIFICALLY ON CSCE AT THIS TIME TO PROD GOC ON ITS IMPLEMENTATION RECORD WOULD BE COUNTERED BY GOC COMPLAINTS ABOUT CLAIMS/GOLD AND QUERIES ABOUT THE LACK OF URGENCY WE SHOW IN SIGNING THE CULTURAL/SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES AGREEMENT AND ASSOCIATED IMPLEMENTATION DOCUMENTS AS WELL AS BY THE STANDARD LITANY OF CHARGES OF RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE US. IN ANY CASE, WE WOULD EXPECT NO SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN GOC IMPLEMENTATION OF CSCE TO RESULT FROM A FORMAL DEMARCHE, SINCE THE CZECHOSLOVAKS, AS USUAL, FEEL OBLIGED TO APPEAR A STEP BEHIND MOSCOW ON ALL CSCE MATTERS. MOREOVER, THE
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CZECHOSLOVAKS PRESENTLY REMAIN ALERT TO AVOIDANCE OF ANY SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN INTERNAL STATUS QUO, AS THEY CONTINUE MANEUVERING TO CONTAIN POTENTIAL THREATS TO THE STABILITY OF THE REGIME, SUCH AS THE CHARTER 77 HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS.

4. OUR REFRAINING SO FAR FROM A FORMAL DEMARCHE ON CSCE HAS BEEN AN ADDITIONAL WAY TO GET ACROSS THE MESSAGE THAT USG IS NOT PREPARED TO OVERLOOK THE PATTERN OF FLOUTING BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS CLEARLY REVEALED, INTER ALIA, BY THE STILL UNFINISHED CHARTER 77 EPISODE IN FAVOR OF BUSINESS AS USUAL. THAT WE HAVE GAINED THE ATTENTION OF THE REGIME IS CLEAR -- MFA OFFICIALS IN RECENT WEEKS HAVE BEEN COMPLAINING TO OUR WESTERN COLLEAGUES, BUT NOT TO US, THAT THE ONLY NATO COUNTRIES WITH WHICH CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAS NOT HELD HIGH-LEVEL CSCE CONSULTATIONS ARE THE U.S. AND PORTUGAL. WE SEE NO UTILITY IN WEAKENING THE FORCE OF THAT MESSAGE BY MAKING A FORMAL DEMARCHE THIS LATE IN THE GAME. THE ONLY PURPOSE THAT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN SERVED BY GOC CONSULTATIONS WITH OUR ALLIES HAS BEEN TO GIVE PRAGUE ADDITIONAL TALLIES ON ITS SCOREBOARD OF BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS; THE EXCHANGES HAVE NEITHER HELPED OUR ALLIES IN PREPARING FOR BELGRADE NOR RESULTED IN ANY IMPROVEMENT IN GOC IMPLEMENTATION OF CSCE.

5. IN OUR DAY-TO-DAY JOUSTING WITH THE GOC WE FIND IT TACTICALLY AND PSYCHOLOGICALLY DESIRABLE TO AVOID BEING PLACED IN THE ROLE OF "DEMANDEUR." THE CZECHOSLOVAKS ALSO AVOID A DEMANDEUR STANCE AND ON THE MATTER OF CSCE CONSULTATIONS, AS ON OTHER BILATERAL QUESTIONS, HAVE AVOIDED EXPLICITLY PROPOSING THEY BE HELD -- ALTHOUGH CSCE WOULD OBVIOUSLY HAVE BEEN A TOPIC OF DISCUSSION IF DEPUTY FONMIN SPACIL HAD MADE HIS PLANNED VISIT TO THE U.S. WE SEE NO ADVANTAGE IN PRESSING THE CZECHS FOR LARGELY STERILE TALKS.

5. THUS, WE CONCLUDE THAT IN THE CASE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA WE WILL BEST SERVE THE CAUSE OF IMPLEMENTATION NOT BY A FORMAL DEMARCHE, BUT RATHER BY CONTINUING OUR STEADY PRESSURE AT VARIOUS WORKING CONFIDENTIAL

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LEVELS OF THE GOC, BACKED UP WHEN APPROPRIATE BY PUBLIC STATEMENTS FROM THE DEPARTMENT.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
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Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, DEMARCHE, COLLECTIVE SECURITY, MEETINGS
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Decaption Note:
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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977PRAGUE01721
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770225-0005
Format: TEL
From: PRAGUE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770624/aaaaauuq.tel
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Message ID: 68edce77-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 STATE 139514, 77 PRAGUE 667, 76 PRAGUE 3334
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2050392
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE IMPLEMENTATION INITIATIVES: CZECHOSLOVAKIA
TAGS: PGOV, SHUM, OCON, CZ, US, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/68edce77-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009